1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788 A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihi'p'Tcoa) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ɔcuke'e! mi'k'eɣ ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

839 Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821 Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825 824 A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825 [226] [262] Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23 [262] [224] The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'eu, diku'eu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763 On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776 Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Peta'i'ltai tekme'liwi (Dave).

821 789 276 When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

821 One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

825 Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752 Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776 Sometime Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755 825 276 A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

the cloudless sky overhead.

Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers, which is a source of much amusement among the Washo. Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing 'rain dances' on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia. Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231) The tall feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were important parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

Modern peyotists have lost some of the traditional Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam, 1957).

Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addition it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

Incense cedar plays an important role in modern peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire to create a fragrant smoke which is considered bene-

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *Ăŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

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William T. Hamilton (Sieber 1951, 227-9) claims contact with 150 horse riding Indians at "Biglow's Lake", one of the early names for Lake Tahoe.

Donner Pass was considered the best route into California for the wagon trains and many White camps were established along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

1850 - Territory of Utah created which included most of Nevada.

Abner Blackburn ran the trading post at Genoa until winter.

1851 - John Reese and party built and operated the trading post at Genoa. It was called Reese's Station, then Mormon Station, and then Genoa. This started the settlement in Nevada with a number of people deciding to stay east of the Sierras.

"The first eastbound mail, carried from Sacramento on mule-back, reached Carson Valley on May 17, 1851...on its way to Salt Lake City and points east" (Nevada 1940, 37).

Clark Ranch established in Carson Valley (Thompson and West 1881, 29-30).

1852 - Washo near Eagle Station (later known as Carson City) reported having several horses. [231]

The Washo made raids on the stock in Carson Valley and one Indian was shot (Ingalls 1913, 38). [921]

1853 - Isaac Roop settled in Honey Lake Valley (Thompson and West 1881).

The present Washo land claim against the U. S. government will be awarded on the value of property in this year in California and in the year 1862 for Nevada (Indian Claims Commission 1959). [648]

1854 - "In 1854 a road was cleared across the Sierra and a four-mule team began to haul /sic/ mail and passengers between Salt Lake City and California. By 1857 there was tri-weekly passenger service across the mountains and travelers could use stages the whole way from the Missouri to the West Coast" (Nevada 1940, 38).

Asa H. Hawley established a trading post in Lake Valley. "I was the only white man near the lake with the exception of another trader (Martis Smith) located some four miles north toward Lake Bigler (Tahoe)... The Indians would not allow white men to fish in the lake" (Scott 1957, 180).

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Dawes Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668]

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

[P. 353, B]

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hand by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?lé·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained. [203] [211]

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows. [834] [262] [263] [843]

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

921 535 [44] [825] 726 756 739

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare. [783] [234]

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SUMMARY

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Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

central Great Basin. By the end of the 1840's there were a number of rest stations for emigrants, at the foot of new trails across the Sierras, in Carson and Eagle valleys, on the Truckee River, and in Sierra Valley. Thousands of head of cattle were grazed there, and wagon trains paused for months at a time waiting for the appropriate season for the final crossing. By 1859 gold had been discovered in the area, logging and lumber became a major industry, ranches and farms created a network of fences in most of the valleys, and numerous white settlements had sprung up containing a rapidly increasing population of permanent settlers, miners and laborers.

There is some evidence that the Washo may have suffered a drastic decrease in population and some tribal disorganization prior to these events of the 1840's and 50's. Extensive epidemics had raged through the Indian tribes of central California during the first few decades of the 19th century, and Washo legend contains numerous references to the devastation of entire bands by disease before the period of American settlement. There are also legends of early Spanish expeditions, the working of mines in the mountains, and the capture of Washo children. The publication of more of the records of these expeditions may bring to light material of considerable importance with regard to initial Washo contacts with non-Indians.

At the point of first intensive white contact in the late 1840's and early 1850's the Washo also appear to have been under attack from mounted groups of Paiute, and there is every indication that their willingness to cooperate with whites was a response to the need for protection from Paiute raiding. The Washo never adopted the horse for hunting or warfare as did their neighbors directly to the east, and this fact put them at a great disadvantage during the tumultuous years of competition between the newly emergent raiding bands of the Paiute and the white emigrants. That they never surmounted the effects of this initial inferiority of status is borne out by their almost total eclipse in official records during the remainder of the 19th century, and by the neglect of their desperate condition on the part of government and local administrators. This is all the more curious in view of the fact that they appear to have increased in population during the past hundred years, and have maintained viable social groups and cultural continuity.

Though historical documentation and early ethnographic comment concerning the Washo are meager, what resources do exist are of great potential value to the student of their culture. The first phase of the historical record is that marked by the journals and reports of trappers, explorers and emigrants prior to 1850. The initial venture over this section of the Sierras appears to be that of Jedediah Smith and a party of trappers who went into Spanish California by way of Walker Pass in 1825 or 1826. In 1833 Joseph Walker led a party of trappers up the Truckee River to California, and a diary of the trip was kept by Zenas Leonard, a member of the party.

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[247] Beyond this single farmer, the only attempts at cultivation I saw were a flower garden, maintained by the Paiute wife of a Woodfords Washo, and two small orchards. These last two efforts were made by men considered to be Washo, and consist of only a few trees which bear indifferently. I suspect that the Washo concern with trees, which is symbolized by a deep interest in pinyon pines and other fruit-bearing plants, might be directed toward a program of orchard culture.

[427] The Washo "Tribal Ranch," part of the Dresslerville community located in the bottoms along the Curom River, has never been operated successfully either by individual Washo or as a cooperative, and has for a number of years been leased by white tenants.

231 The dog, owned aboriginally, is ubiquitous in Washo settlements. Whatever distinctive features the pre-contact breed may have exhibited have long been submerged under a flood of bloodlines of every description since the appearance of European breeds. The animals are treated with kindness and are fed, often with commercial dog food, but driven out of the house
[224] should they attempt to enter. Dogs serve only as pets and companions and apparently are not used in hunting.

285 Two families own barnyard fowl, one keeping them penned and gathering eggs, the other allowing them to wander freely about the homestead and occasionally killing one for the pot or frying pan. One family in Dresslerville maintains a tumble-down dove-cote that houses a number of pigeons. I could not find any practical reason for keeping pigeons except that the owners "just like them."

231 The common cat is a member of most Washo households. Generally the animals are allowed to fend for themselves, and many of them are missing toes or one or more feet or limbs, cut off by mowers as the cats prowl alfalfa fields in search of rodents. Their owners take a great deal of pride in a cat that is "tough" enough to survive one of these injuries and return home.

492 The last team of horses, and wagon, in Dresslerville was sold in
489 1928, and Washo transport became automotive or, as always, pedestrian. Older and middle-aged Washo show no interest in horses or riding, although some will bridle at the suggestion that Washo are not good riders.

231 Some Washo boys have become enamored of the western folk hero,
177 the "cowboy,"[2] and show an enthusiasm for western clothes and a desire to
541 own and ride horses. However, only two Washo boys participate in the frequent rodeos held in the area, and these, I was told by other Washo, were not very good and entered only the minor events.

2 Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally. [see footnote, p.150 -- Analyst]

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [246] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [313] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [476] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or [178] failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 225 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

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[825] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt [888] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

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825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (19--, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

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241 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors
311 that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agricul-
177 ture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 244

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 243] on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still [124] [492] [484] 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[484] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, [313] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be [464] valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of 177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses 222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gather- 492 ing trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible 177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their in- 241 volvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo 871 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or [492] wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

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484 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

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177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is [517] interesting to note that in the summer of 1939 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

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231 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a
579 "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or
159 attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

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231 The material presented in the previous pages is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

It is perhaps significant to recall that the earliest Washo experience with livestock revealed a knowledge of the various techniques of using large animals, i.e., riding, driving and packing. The fact that these experimental techniques were used on an ox or cow rather than a horse is significant in understanding the processes involved in the diffusion of animal-use techniques (Downs, 1961c). With the exception that these techniques were finally transferred to the horse we can say that the Washo developed very little beyond skills displayed in the first instance.

Although I cannot presume to offer a complete explanation of this situation, it would perhaps be valuable to attempt to answer the question of why the Washo did not respond to the potential of animal husbandry.

As a basis we may refer to the hypothesis set forth elsewhere in this volume, that for ecological and historical reasons the Washo tended to be oriented to the west rather than east. The great barrier of the Sierra offers little encouragement to the use of horses or the keeping of herds.

There also appears to be reason to hypothesize that Washo culture itself holds some of the answers to this question. From the very earliest contact Washo response to the new alternatives presented by white culture and technology has been to make a minimal adjustment of aboriginal behavior. Thus the Washo in part continued their gathering, hunting and fishing cycle without permanent homesites until the 1920's, when the last nomadic band became sedentary. White settlements were obviously viewed as sources of food either through temporary wage labor, which utilized aboriginal skills such as brush clearing and weed picking, or through attenuated gathering behavior such as begging, scavenging or theft. The livestock introduced by white men was looked upon primarily as a source of meat. Even today the Washo tend to live in terms of aboriginal orientation toward subsistence, involving a highly mobile opportunism that exploits the short term income possibilities of the economic system of western America. In the 19th century this minimal adjustment produced real rewards for the Washo. As commercial hunters and fishermen, harvest hands, brush clearers, woodchoppers, ranch hands, casual prostitutes and kitchen workers, etc., the Washo accepted jobs that whites, who had come west to make fortunes in ranching or even greater fortunes in mining or lumbering, did not care to perform. However, with the gradual restriction of hunting and fishing and the shift from field agriculture to stock raising in western Nevada, the Washo found their skills no longer in demand, and they entered a period of economic depression which continues at the present time.

Although the present social, economic and cultural condition of the Washo is vastly different from the condition of a century ago, it seems clear

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178 that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one
231 when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basis or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

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231 In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

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825 The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo
773 culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world
[771] view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world
[777] are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs,
[171] 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the nature of the animals man encounters in this world.

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

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825 Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word
231 <u>musĕge</u>, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently musĕge, but a deer, or even a squirrel, is musĕge only if he manages to show his superiority to

the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musége is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musége is the common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude appears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous animals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new (and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's invasion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers, 1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder, we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. Moreover the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of husbandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is considered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot contribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has happened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore, have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear-cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals. Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication" or "domestic animals."

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The Washo example serves to illustrate how varied the response to a particular complex of behavior can be. It serves, if nothing more, as a warning that it is not possible from the nature of the introduced behavior to [231] easily anticipate what the response in the receiving culture will be. It further suggests that the subject of response to animal husbandry among Indian tribes outside the more well known and dramatic area of the Great Plains may shed meaningful light on the process, and on the effects of the diffusion of animal husbandry in the New World.

Notes

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1. Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally.

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2. This reflects one of the dominant themes of white culture in the West. Cattle raising is one of the major industries. Moreover, it is an activity with prestige. The romanticized figure of the cowboy is dominant throughout the area. In Gardnerville amateur ropers form one of the largest and most active recreational groups, and rodeo is a major spectator sport.

Washo NT20
Achumawi N5E

NWA 234

NWA 235

NWA 236

NWA 237

ARTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

	Ny	Ki	Wp	Ma	Yo	Yo	Pa	Ma	Ai	Ow	Ng	Wa	Li	Ar
230. Brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
231. Feather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
232. Basket	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
232a. Anything	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
233. Baskets finished out	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
233. Flares for food	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eagle (and Other) Catching														
233. Aeries owned, individually	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
234. Young taken from nest	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
235. Frightened off nest, caught	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
236. Hunter climbs to the nest	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
237. On rope	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
238. On reel	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
239. Carries cage	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
240. Seized by hand	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
240a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
240. Feathers taken, then eagle released	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
237. Rearing of eagle	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
238. Nest in tree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
239. Bird tied up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
240. Caged	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
241. Eagle-catching power from dream	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
242. Eagle caught for feathers	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
243. Tail feathers	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
244. Wing feathers	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
244a. Down	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
245. For trade only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
246. Rearing other birds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
246. Chiefly down	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
249. Young taken from nest	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
250. Bird kept in cage	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
251. Twined willow cage, painted toy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fishing														
*252a. Trout caught in own territory	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
252b. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*253a. Suyai caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
253b. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*254a. Suckers caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
254?. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*255g. Minnows caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
255h. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*256?. Salmon caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
256?. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*257. Fish nets	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
258. Special form	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
259. Basket set used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
260. Wading in streams	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
260a. Ice pick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
259. Net used through ice	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
259a. Communal fishing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
260. Weir	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
261. Hook dam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
262. Platform built over river	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
263. Basket for taking fish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
264. Conical carrying type	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
265. Special elongated type	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[p. 370]